

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2761

AMEMBASSY BONN

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION NATO

AMCONSUL BREMEN

AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF

AMCONSUL FRANKFURT

AMCONSUL HAMBURG

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMCONSUL STUTTGART

S E C R E T NOFORN SECTION 1 OF 3 BERLIN 2159

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, WB

SUBJECT: ANNUAL POLICY ASSESSMENT BERLIN: SUMMARY

(THIS MESSAGE CONTAINS THE SUMMARY OF THE ANNUAL POLICY ASSESSMENT FOR BERLIN. A SEPARATE ASSESSMENT WILL COVER THE GDR. IT IS INTENDED THAT THIS ESTIMATE SERVE AS BERLIN'S QUARTERLY POLICY REVIEW FOR DECEMBER AND AS A REFERENCE POINT FOR POLICY REVIEWS TO FOLLOW--STOESSEL LETTER TO KLEIN, DECEMBER 4, 1973.)

1. SUMMARY: A YEAR AND A HALF AFTER THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT (QA) WENT INTO EFFECT, BERLIN REMAINS CRISIS-SECRET

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FREE, BUT WIDE DIFFERENCES PREVAIL IN REGARD TO SEVERAL

ASPECTS OF THE QA'S IMPLEMENTATION. CONTROVERSY HAS PRINCIPALLY FOCUSED ON THE CAREFULLY BALANCED PASSAGE THAT "THE TIES BETWEEN THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY WILL BE MAINTAINED AND DEVELOPED, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THAT THESE SECTORS CONTINUE NOT TO BE A CONSTITUENT PART OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND NOT TO BE GOVERNED BY IT." THE WESTERN SIDE HAS INTERPRETED THIS PROVISION TO MEAN THAT AS LONG AS THOSE ACTIONS SPECIFICALLY ENJOINED BY THE QA ARE AVOIDED, THE FRG IS FREE TO REPRESENT BERLIN INTERNATIONALLY AND TO SUSTAIN AND BUILD ON PRACTICES OF THE PAST THAT DEMONSTRATE THAT WEST BERLIN IS A PART, IF NOT A CONSTITUTENT PART, OF THE FRG. THUS, IT IS ONLY NATURAL THAT WEST BERLINERS SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN INTERNATIONAL EVENTS AS MEMBERS OF FRG DELEGATIONS, THAT THE FRG SHOULD, WITH ALLIED AUTHORIZATION REPRESENT WEST BERLIN ABROAD, THAT BUNDESTAG COMMITTEES AND POLITICAL PARTIES SHOULD HOLD MEETINGS IN BERLIN, AND THAT FEDERAL OFFICES SHOULD BE LOCATED IN BERLIN AS LONG AS THEY EXERCISE NO DIRECT GOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITY.

2. THE SOVIETS AND EAST GERMANS, ON THE OTHER HAND, PLACE FULL EMPHASIS ON THE SECOND HALF OF THE FORMULA--IGNORING THE KEY WORD "CONTINUE"--AND ATTEMPT THROUGH REPEATED FORMAL AND INFORMAL COMPLAINTS, AS WELL AS IN THEIR OWN BILATERAL RELATIONS, TO ASSERT AN INDEPENDENT STATUS FOR WEST BERLIN. OBJECTING TO THE PRESENCE OF WEST BERLINERS ON FRG TEAMS AND DELEGATIONS, THEY ATTEMPT TO NEGOTIATE SEPARATE ARRANGEMENTS FOR CULTURAL AND SPORTS EXCHANGES WITH WEST BERLIN. WHILE DEFLECTING THE FRG'S EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE ON BEHALF OF WEST BERLIN UNDER THE TERMS OF THE FRG-GDR BASIC TREATY, THE GDR HOLDS OUT THE PROMISE OF SUBSTANTIAL LOCAL BENEFITS IF ONLY THE WEST BERLIN SENAT WILL ENTER INTO SEPARATE TREATIES WITH IT. INSTEAD OF HONORING THE QA PROVISION ON DEVELOPING TIES, THE SOVIETS AND EAST GERMANS ALLEGE THAT THE FRG PRESENCE IN WEST BERLIN SHOULD BE REDUCED IN SIZE. AND ONLY WHEN THE FRG AGREED TO DEFER THE QUESTION OF REPRESENTING WEST BERLIN CONSULAR INTERESTS ABROAD WAS BONN ABLE TO MOVE AHEAD WITH NORMALIZATION

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TREATIES WITH CZECHOSLOVAKIA, BULGARIA AND HUNGARY.

3. THE TROUBLE-FEE EXPERIENCE IN REGARD TO ARRANGEMENTS FOR TRANSIT AND VISITS HAS RECENTLY BEEN MARRED BY GDR ATTEMPTS TO INTRODUCE SELECTIVELY MODIFICATIONS IN CONTROLS ON TRANSIT TRAFFIC AND BY THE IMPOSITION OF MORE BURDENSOME CURRENCY-CONTROL REGULATIONS, WHICH IN THE PAST FEW WEEKS HAVE HAD THE EFFECT OF DRASTICALLY

REDUCING THE FLOW OF VISITORS TO EAST BERLIN AND THE
GDR.

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4. THE BASIC VISIT AND TRANSIT RIGHTS FOR MOST WEST
BERLINERS REMAIN UNIMPAIRED, BUT FAILURE ON THE PART
OF BOTH THE FRG AND THE ALLIES TO INSIST ON PROPER
INTERPRETATIONS OF THE QA AND INNER-GERMAN AGREEMENTS
COULD LEAD TO FURTHER, MORE DAMAGING EFFORTS AT RE-
INTERPRETATION AND WHAT AMOUNTS TO RENEGOTIATION. IN
THIS CONTEXT, THE TEST CASE POSED BY SOVIET AND GDR
OPPOSITION TO THE LOCATION IN WEST BERLIN OF A NEW
FED ENVIRONMENTAL AGENCY IS ESPECIALLY SIGNIFICANT.
WHILE HITHERTO IT HAS BEEN POSSIBLE FOR THE ALLIES TO
REMAIN SILENT IN REGARD TO MOST CONTROVERSIES CONCERNING

THE QA, THERE MAY BE OCCASIONS WHEN IT IS NECESSARY
BOTH PRIVATELY AND PUBLICLY TO ASSERT WESTERN POSITIONS,
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LEST EASTERN INTERPRETATIONS STAND UNREFUTED OR THE GDR
SUCCEED IN CREATING THE IMPRESSION THAT IT HAS A RIGHT
TO INTERPRET THE WORK OF THE FOUR POWERS. UNPUBLICIZED,
PRIVATE APPROACHES TO THE SOVIETS OFFER THE POSSIBILITY
OF AVOIDING TROUBLE BEFORE THEY OR THE EAST GERMANS
BECOME SO COMMITTED THEY FEEL THEY CANNOT AFFORD TO BACK
DOWN. DEPENDING ON CIRCUMSTANCES, PUBLIC STATEMENTS MAY
BE NECESSARY FOR BOTH MORALE- AND RECORD-BUILDING
PURPOSES. WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE UNITED STATES MAY HAVE
TO UNDERTAKE SOME MISSIONARY WORK TO CONVINCE THE ALLIES,
PARTICULARLY THE FRENCH, WHO ARE INCLINED TOWARD STRICT
CONSTRUCTIONISM, OF THE NEED TO "TALK BACK." FAILURE
TO RESPOND PROMPTLY TO EASTERN CHALLENGES, HOWEVER,
OFTEN IS LIKELY BE REGARDED AS A SIGN OF VACILLATION
AND DIVISION IN WESTERN RANKS, WHICH IN TURN MIGHT
ENCOURAGE THE SOVIETS AND EAST GERMANS TO PRESS THEIR CASE.

5. IT IS PROBABLY TOO SOON TO DETERMINE WHETHER THE
NOVEMBER 1972 QUADRIPARTITE DECLARATION WILL BE AS
EFFECTIVE AS INTENDED. ALTHOUGH THE GDR HAS BEEN ADMITTED
TO THE UNITED NATIONS AND HAS ESTABLISHED DIPLOMATIC
RELATIONS WITH MOST JAMOR STATES, THE FACT THAT UNITED
STATES HAS NOT YET OPENED AN EMBASSY AND THE UK AND
FRENCH AMBASSADORS ARE NOT YET IN PLACE MAY BE
RESTRAINING THE SOVIETS AND THE GDR FROM ATTEMPTS
TO ALTER ALLIED PRACTICES. IN THE MONTHS AHEAD THE
ALLIES WILL HAVE TO OBSERVE CLOSELY GDR AND SOVIET
BEHAVIOR IN SUCH VITAL AREAS AS ACCESS, AND FREEDOM OF
MOVEMENT IN EAST BERLIN

6. SINCE THE SOVIET CONSULATE GENERAL OPENED ITS DOORS
IN MID-1973, ITS PERSONNEL, WORKING IN CLOSE CONJUNCTION
WITH THEIR COLLEAGUES IN THE SOVIET EMBASSY IN EAST
BERLIN, HAVE DONE THEIR PART TO ADVANCE ONE-SIDED INTER-
PRETATIONS OF THE QA, WHILE ATTEMPTING TO INSINUATE FOR
THEMSELVES A FOURTH POWER VVICE IN WEST BERLIN. THE
MISSION WILL HAVE TO CONTINUE TO SHOULDER THE MAJOR PART
OF THE TIRESOME TASK OF MONITORING SOVIET ATTEMPTS
TO BEND LOCAL REGULATIONS AND TO BREAK THE GROUND
RULES WORKED OUT FOR THE NEW SOVIET ESTABLISHMENTS IN
WEST BERLIN, CALLING THE SOVIETS TO ACCOUNT WHENEVER
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THEY DO SO.

7. DURING THE PAST YEAR, THE SENAT HAS DEMONSTRATED A TENDENCY TOWARD INDEPENDENT ACTION, UNDERSTANDABLE IN THE CONTEXT OF FRG ENTRY INTO THE UN AND THE PROLONGED PERIOD OF ALLIED OCCUPATION. WHILE THERE IS AN EQUAL TENDENCY FOR THE SENAT TO DRAW CLOSER TO THE ALLIES WHEN FACED WITH NEGOTIATING DIFFICULTIES WITH THE EAST, IT BEHOOVES US TO RECOGNIZE THE TREND TOWARD GREATER INDEPENDENCE AS INESCAPABLE AND TO ACCOMMODATE TO IT. THE ALLIES SHOULD NOT STAND IN THE WAY OF SENAT-GDR NEGOTIATIONS ON LOCAL MATTERS, PROVIDED THAT RESERVED ALLIED RIGHTS ARE NOT AFFECTED, AND WE SHOULD AVOID OVER-RELIANCE ON FORMAL ALLIED KOMMANDATURA MACHINERY IN OUR RELATIONS WITH THE SENAT.

8. WESTERN INSISTENCE, FOR VALID POLITICAL REASONS, ON FREE ACCESS TO THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN HAS ALWAYS POSED LAW-AND-ORDER PROBLEMS. THESE HAVE BECOME MORE ACUTE IN RECENT MONTHS, AS A FLOW OF JEWISH REFUGEES INTO THE CITY, COMBINED WITH A LARGE INCREASE IN THE ARAB POPULATION, MANY OF THEM ALLEGEDLY SEEKING ASYLUM, HAS CREATED A POTENTIALLY EXPLOSIVE SITUATION. LOCAL AUTHORITIES ARE ALSO MORE CONCERNED ABOUT NARCOTICS CONTROL. WE RECOMMEND URGENT CONSULTATION WITH OUR ALLIES AND THE SENAT TO DEVISE ENTRY CONTROLS AND EXPEDITE DISPOSITION OF ASYLUM CASES, A COURSE WHICH WE BELIEVE IS POSSIBLE WITHOUT MODIFYING FUNDAMENTAL WESTERN POSITIONS.

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9. GROWING AWARENESS OF THE NEED TO ENHANCE WEST BERLIN'S
SENSE OF BELONGING AT A TIME WHEN IT IS NO LONGER A
CENTER OF WORLD ATTENTION HAS NOT BEEN MATCHED BY
CONCRETE ACCOMPLISHMENTS. ESTABLISHED INTERNATIONAL
INSTITUTIONS ARE RELUCTANT TO SET UP BRANCH OFFICES IN
BERLIN, FAR FROM HOME BASE, WHILE PROPONENTS OF NEW
INSTITUTIONS ARE NOT ALWAYS ABLE TO PERSUADE POTENTIAL
PARTICIPANTS OF THE PRACTICALITY OF IDEAS ATTRACTIVE IN
THEORY. GERMAN-WIDE ORGANIZATIONS CONTINUE TO OFFER
THE MOST PROMISE. THE FRG SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED ON A
SELECTIVE AND CAREFULLY TIMED BASIS TO SUPPORT THE LOCATION
IN THE CITY OF NEW INSTITUTIONS, NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL,
AND NOT TO GIVE WAY TO SOVIET/GDR CHALLENGES WHEN MAKING
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DECISIONS ABOUT ITS OWN FACILITIES, AS LONG AS THESE ARE
CONSISTENT WITH THE QA.

10. THE COMPLETION IN 1974 OF TEGEL AIRPORT AS AN
ULTRAMODERN, CONVENIENT AIRPORT THEORETICALLY SHOULD
GIVE WEST BERLIN AN EDGE IN DEVELOPING AS AN INTER-
NATIONAL AIR CENTER. UNFORTUNATELY, HOWEVER, MOVES
TO ATTRACT NEW CARRIERS TO COME TO WEST BERLIN HAVE
GENERALLY BEEN MADE RELUCTANTLY AND TOO LATE. AS A
CONSEQUENCE WEST BERLIN HAS CONTINUED TO LOSE OUT TO
SCHOENEFELD IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF AIR SERVICES.
EARLY ALLIED APPROVAL OF LANDING RIGHTS FOR NON-ALLIED
CARRIERS CLEARLY INTERESTED IN PRESSING THE GDR FOR
OVERFLIGHT RIGHTS WILL BE REQUIRED IF THIS IMBALANCE IS
EVER TO BE REDRESSED.

1. WHATEVER THE SUCCESS OF EFFORTS TO BOLSTER BERLIN'S
ATTRACTIVENESS AS A EUROPEAN CENTER, THE CITY IS BOUND TO

SUFFER FROM THE CURRENT ENERGY CRISIS THAT AFFECTS ALL OF EUROPE. IT MAY BE NECESSARY FOR THE FRG TO GIVE SPECIAL CONSIDERATION TO MEASURES TO FORESTALL A WORSENING OF THE ALWAYS-LATENT SENSE OF ISOLATION OF ITS CITIZENS.

12. THE GRAPHIC AND PERFORMING ARTS IS ONE AREA IN WHICH THE UNITED STATES ACTIONS ARE NOT DEPENDENT UPON OUTSIDE INFLUENCES. WITH THE SOVIET STEPPING UP THEIR CULTURAL OFFENSIVE IN THE WESTERN SECTORS, AND IN VIEW OF THE PROBABILITY THAT MAJOR AMERICAN CULTURAL ATTRACTIONS WILL BE PRESENTED IN EAST BERLIN AND THE GDR, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE UNITED STATES BE REPRESENTED IN WEST BERLIN BY AT LEAST A LIMITED NUMBER OF OUTSTANDING EXAMPLES OF ITS CULTURAL LIFE THAT WILL DEMONSTRATE CONTINUED INTEREST IN THE CITY.

13. IN ADDITION TO ADVANCING THE CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES SUGGESTED ABOVE, IT IS IMPORTANT DURING THE CURRENT TRANSITION PERIOD RELATED TO THE ENHANCEMENT OF THE GDR'S INTERNATIONAL STATUS THAT THE UNITED STATES ITSELF UNDERTAKE NO STEPS THAT COULD SIGNAL DECLINING WILLINGNESS TO STAND BY ITS BERLIN COMMITMENT AND BE
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MISINTERPRETED BY THE SOVIETS OR THE GDR AS ENCOURAGEMENT FURTHER TO ASSERT ONE-SIDED INTERPRETATIONS OF THE QA. CUTS IN THE UNITED STATES GARRISON FORCE, WHICH AT BEST COULD MAKE ONLY A MARGINAL CONTRIBUTION TO OVER-ALL EUROPEAN TROOP REDUCTIONS, WOULD NOT WARRANT THE RISKS ENTAILED. WE RECOGNIZE, HOWEVER, THAT SOME REDUCTIONS COULD PROBABLY BE EFFECTED OVER TIME WITHOUT DAMAGE TO THE MISSION, AND WOULD NOT WISH TO SUGGEST THEY BE PRECLUDED SHOULD SUCH A GESTURE ASSUME CRITICAL IMPORTANCE AT AN ADVANCED STAGE OF THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. ANY SUCH REDUCTION OF THE UNITED STATES FORCES SHOULD ONLY BE CONSIDERED IN LIGHT OF SOME REDUCTIONS IN THE BRITISH AND FRENCH FORCES, TO PRECLUDE THE U.S. FORCES BECOMING A MINORITY FORCE.KLEIN

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